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Colors	Dialect a 1	Dialect a 2	Dialect b 1/2	Dialect c
Vermilion red	ehednɛ-kenesu	ahɛʔɛn-dutu	ɛʔɛdne	ʂereʂeraɨnte natope (= urucu)
Carmine red	ehɛndutu	aehʔɛndutu	ɛʔɛdne	ʂeraɨnte, natope
Cobalt blue	---	asuisuɛndisu	ʂiʂuɨdna	tapũte, tikualɛ̃nte
Ultramarine blue	---	asuisuɛndutu	ʂiʂuɨdna	tapũte, tikualɛ̃nte
Veronese green	ʂidiʂɨde	asetesedeɛn-dutu	ʂedeʂededne	pasɨnte
Emerald green	ʂideʂi-dedne	asetesedeʔ-ɛndutu	ʂedeʂe-dedne	pasinte, kualɛnte
Strontian yellow	ʂideʂi-dedne	asetesedeʔ-ɛndutu	ʂedeʂe-dedne	natopeʂeraɨnte, kualɛnte
Yellow ocher	ʂideʂi-dedne	asetesedeʔ-ɛndutu	hundne	ʂeraɨnte
Burnt sienna	ʂideʂi-dedne	asetesedeʔ-ɛndutu	hundne	natopeʂeraɨnte

KNOWLEDGE RELATIVE TO THE UNIVERSE

● 821 The Nambikwara of the eastern group call the stars ikitasu, atasu (supernatural animal) or inɨnitu atasu; those of the central and southern group call them tãgɔre (classifying: -gɔre, that which hangs, decorates, trembles) and distinguish between "little stars," (tãgɔniuɨkɔre, -niuɨkɔre being a diminutive) and "planets" (tãgɔrare; classificatory: -are, full, swelled, liquid). No information could be gathered concerning the constellations. The sun is [118] called otianɨkisu, uterɨtisu (a 1/2), ʂunde (b 1/2), iɔta (c); the moon ɨru, irɛkisu (a 1/2), hɛinde, hɛitsude (b 1/2), hiɨta (c), and they distinguish:

The full moon: araditatinoa (a1), ejedamniene (b1) ipaɨkolota (c);

The moon in its (first or last) quarter: ãgiaiʔɨnoa (a1), eyemirakende (b1), ipaɨkolo (c).

805 The year is divided into two periods: the rains (mihɨrage, b1), lasting approximately five months, and the dry season (kɔmirige,

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

particular form of their own. Death is identified with these spirits. Men's souls are believed to be reincarnated as jaguars, whereas women's and children's souls are taken away by wind and thunder, never to return.

The highest being is the Thunder, with which any man, though usually a shaman, may have personal contact through revelations and visions. Women, however, except when very old, and children are deprived of these privileges. Women are also forbidden, under pain of death, to see the sacred flageolets (see Musical Instruments, p. 368) played at the ceremonies marking the beginning and the end of the dry season.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

The shaman is sometimes distinct from—but more frequently identified with—the political chief. He is distinguished by having the privilege of polygyny, playing the leading role in ceremonial life, and possessing special supernatural powers. He treats patients by sucking out the disease or by fighting it with small ritual arrows called "thunder-arrows."

In addition to magical cures, the *Nambicuara* treat sickness with numerous medicinal plants, which are used externally or internally according to the disease. For eye infection, which is very frequent, they apply the infusion of a special bark with the help of a container made of leaves.

FOLKLORE, LORE, AND LEARNING

The only legend recorded by Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b) is a flood tale relating the destruction of human life and its re-creation through several incestuous marriages between the offspring of an old woman, who was the only being who escaped the disaster.

The only basic numbers used for counting are one and two, but the natives can reckon higher figures by combining these.

Colors are classified differently according to the dialects. The *Eastern, Central, Southern,* and *Western Nambicuara* agree in putting yellow and green in the same category, whereas the *Northern* group identify red and yellow, and class green, blue, and black together.

Some *Nambicuara* groups call stars by the same name which designates the spirits. The year is divided into two seasons and an undetermined number of lunar months. The day includes six main stages, each based on the position of the sun. Space is divided into two sections that are perpendicular to each other, one corresponding to the apparent movement of the sun and the other to the direction of the main waterways.

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Commissão Rondón, 1911 and later; Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a, b, n.d. b; Rondón, 1916; Roosevelt, 1924; Roquette-Pinto, 1912 a (1935, 1938), b, c, 1917; Schmidt, 1929 b; Schuller, 1912, 1921; Souza, A. P. de, 1920; Vellard, 1939 b.

627 The chief admon-
[622] ishes quarrelsome individuals but appears to have no powers of coercion. The Wakĺítisu claim that individuals quarrel but they do not fight among themselves nor do they remember any cases of murder. Unwanted individuals are exiled by common agreement. Houses, fields, and some implements are common property, and food is shared among the members of the band. Axes, machetes, and knives, although owned by individuals are freely used by other members. At death, privately owned tools pass to a man's sons or to his brother. The bow is customarily broken and left on the grave. Even these rules are not strictly adhered to, for when a man becomes seriously ill other men begin to help themselves to his property and the one with the "strongest mouth" gets the most. If the man recovers he cannot reclaim his things but must set about accumulating a new supply.

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[428]

[764]

593 The wife and the children are under the strict control of the husband. Although boys must obey their fathers they owe no special obedience to their mothers. Boys sometimes throw stones and sticks at their mothers and the old women; the older men not only laugh but even encourage this disobedience. The bond between brothers is very close. On occasion they share each other's wives. No particular respect is paid to in-laws.

[837]

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

774 According to the Wakĺítisu the spirits are the source of all danger, misfortune, sickness, and death. The ghosts of the dead (*ayánkadisu*), bring sickness unless offerings of food are made to them. The ghosts of dead shamans (*anúnsu*), belonging to other bands bring thunderstorms which destroy gardens and make hunting difficult. In addition to the ghosts, there is *tauptú*, the hawk of death who lives in the sky, and *ulurú*, the evil armadillo who lives under the ground and wants to destroy the villages and camps of the Nambicuara.

[782

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[821]

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Tauptú is an enormous hawk with huge wings, tail, and claws, who sits in a tree made of human bones. This tree (*lálukatsu*) is situated on the shore of a shallow lake in the sky. Shooting stars are caused by *tauptú* defecating at night. A small red bird (*dintnuwa*), who lives with *tauptú*, urinates into the lake and when it fills up the urine overflows and comes down in the form of rain.

[821]

[p. 99 (B)]

776 [753] *Tauptá* does not cause illness, but when people get sick he begins to eat away the flesh and finally kills them and eventually takes their bones to his abode in the sky. The missionaries told me that when the first airplane appeared in Nambicuara territory the Indians ran into the forest and hid because they believed the airplane was *tauptá*. Shamans sometimes visit the land of *tauptá* by riding up to the sky on the back of [756] *wutsi*, the night hawk or goat sucker. Julio claimed that his father-in-law, who was a powerful shaman, had visited the realm of *tauptá* while in a trance.

776 The Wakítisu fear most of all the spirit armadillo called *ulurú*. When someone sees bits of 756 manioc cake and charcoal floating on the river near the village, he comes back and tells the shaman, who then goes to examine the signs. If the shaman decides that it is *ulurú*, immediate action must be taken to save the world from destruction. The women and children shut themselves in their huts while the men take their wooden sword clubs (*hulúkisu*) and go to the bank of the river. The shaman then digs a deep hole in the bank, into which he is lowered with a rope. When he has grasped *ulurú* by the tail he signals the men on the surface to pull him out. The shaman remains at the mouth of the hole with his arm thrust in, holding *ulurú* by the tail while with his other hand he marks points on the ground which are directly over the head, heart, and stomach of *ulurú*. One by one the men thrust their sword clubs into the ground at the places marked by the shaman. As they push the blades in they twist them to make sure that they kill *ulurú*. After the spirit armadillo has been killed, the men go back to the village leaving the shaman alone with the dead *ulurú*. The shaman then cuts up the spirit armadillo, washes the pieces in the river, and begins to sing. When the ghosts of the dead Nambicuara hear the song they come and eat the pieces prepared by the shaman, after which they go away happy because the Nambicuara have been saved.

776 The Wakítisu say that if they should ever fail to kill *ulurú*, a terrific storm would appear followed ● [821] by an earthquake, for when *ulurú* gets under the village he will turn the world upside down, *tauptá* will fall down from the sky, and the Nambicuara will be buried again. In short, they will go back

776 under the ground from where *ekíkdítiu*, the culture hero, once released them. They add that they expect this to happen some day.

756 The man who is responsible for guarding the band against evil spirits is the shaman (*wanágidiu*).
775 In this task he is assisted by the ghosts of dead shamans of his own band. The spirit or ghost of a dead shaman is known as *anánau* and is sharply distinguished from the ghosts of non-shamans (*apúkudiu*). The *anánau* of other bands, however, are considered evil for they bring thunderstorms. When speaking about shamans and shaman spirits in Portuguese, the Nambicuara refer to both as "trovão" (thunder). This has led many observers to the conclusion that the Nambicuara believe in a thunder spirit. Among the Wakítisu, at least, "trovão" or thunder is nothing more than a shaman or a shaman spirit. Actual thunder, which is caused by a shaman spirit is called *tídiu*. A shaman spirit may also enter the body of a jaguar (*yenáru*), and cause harm to people.

●821 The Nambicuara do not like heavy and prolonged rainstorms, for they say that the winds blow down their houses, the lightning sometimes kills people, and the rains wash away the tracks so that they and their dogs have difficulty in
756 following game. To pacify the evil *anánau*, who
789 has caused the storm, the shaman makes a cigar-shaped bundle (*yakúdenánau*) out of certain dry leaves, which he ties with cotton twine, leaving long tails at each end. When he wants to stop the rain he lights one end of the bundle, and as it begins to smoke he waves it in the direction of the storm, telling the rain to go away. "Go away, go away, don't be angry at me," he says as he waves the bundle four times. If this does not stop the rain the shaman takes the sword club (*kalánkiu*), which appears to have magical powers, and cuts the rain. If the rain still persists, he lights three smudges made by mixing "para toda" leaves with the *yakúdenánau* leaves. When the smoke rises from the smudges he takes a burning brand and waves it against the storm telling it to stop.

756 The shamans of one band also practice sorcery
754 against individuals in another band by asking their *anánau* to inject objects into their bodies. When a shaman wishes to inject an object into his enemy he retires into a special hut (*sikdenáru*) and

535 The circling began at seven o'clock in the evening, with continuous chanting. The girls, not once deviating from their course, left regular marks on the dusty ground which were clearly visible in the moonlight. They seemed always to step in the footprints of the first round. Midnight. Near the fires lit by every family, the old people slept; some muttered and poked the embers which gleamed like scattered rubies. Within the circle, perspiring, covered with dust, more dead than alive, we all joined in the chorus: "Tagnanî-i! Tagnanî-i! Tangrê!"

Thus it went on all night. Whenever one of us fled and repaired to his hammock, two or three big husky fellows would come talking volubly, and drive the deserter back to his place...

●[521] Unfortunately the words of those chants were not recorded. We only know the two words cited: tagnani, the name of the tribe, tangre, which means "star." Was this astrolatry? The three central figures of this dance, in the course of which stars were mentioned, brought to my mind [255] the beautiful constellation of Orion with its Três Marias ["Three Maries"--the Belt].

533 I recorded two Cocozu musical pieces which are rendered here [pp. 73-74]. Prof. Astolpho Tavares has transcribed them into musical notation.

[Fig. 34]

The scale [diapasão] of Nambicuara music is about half a tone lower than our normal scale.

The notes used in the recorded pieces are: do^1, mi^{2b}, fa^2, fa^2, sol^2, la^2. Neither re nor si appear.

The recorded pieces are in la flat major shifting to mi flat minor (Recording No. 1), and in mi minor (Recording No. 2).

The musical motifs develop in two-part time.

184 The Serra do Norte Indians present two distinct kinds of social organization. From this standpoint, the Tagnani and Tawite are more advanced than the Cocozu and Anunze.

593 The latter live under a patriarchal regime: the father rules the [511] family, which is often monogamous. The children, after puberty, start new families according to their own wishes [à vontade] and continue to revere their progenitors.

342 treated with great affection. The men are jealous of their wives, and
[83] the women take pride in being faithful. In this respect they are quite unlike their neighbors, the Paressi women...

832 The couples are always petting each other, and no caress seems
302 sweeter and more tender to the lover than the woman's fingers running through his hair. This is easy to understand, for the Nambicuara head swarms with vermin...

[Fig. 38]

585 According to reports of the soldier Gouveia, marriage is a simple ceremony. The man asks the father of his beloved for consent to the union. If the father agrees, he gives the bridegroom a bow and a sheaf of arrows, telling him that with these weapons he must support the family he is about to form. That is all.

851 To show that a boy is the son of a certain man, they use in
201 their innocence an expressive gesture: they join the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in the shape of a ring, around the right extended index finger. Then they tap the child and father on the shoulder, saying "Uéth!" (son).

888 They show great respect for old people and spare them all possible effort. When we returned from the village on the Urucau to the post on the Juina, they had us carry [258] on the bow of our saddles the baskets of two old men from the group that accompanied us in search of gifts. The young men and the women all carried their own atiçú and did not ask for help.

771 As to their religion, we know only that it is fetishistic. We know nothing of its cult or system, and even less of its dogma. [Fig. 33]

●521 The northern groups seem to be tending toward astrolatry. Once
[77] when I had threatened the moon and the stars with an arrow, poised ready on a strung bow, several Tagnani rose abruptly and halted my gesture, speaking very excitedly, scolding me, and taking the weapon away from me as if it were a sacrilege.

The Cocozu and Anunze threaten the storm with their weapons, waving their arms in all directions and cursing the rain in loud yells.

Sometimes, instead, the women climb on a termite nest where they let out puffs of smoke and throw ashes into the air to frighten the storm.

764 We do not know anything as yet about their funeral rites. It has been ascertained, however, that they do not cremate their dead and do not eat them. They bury them directly [259] in the ground--
the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

000 the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

802 The concept of number is well under way among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. In their expressive manner, they count on their fingers and say "Dêra" for each unit.

802 When they have used up the fingers of both hands, if the num-
201 ber demands it, they lift a foot, repeating the same word, and then go on to the other foot.

A Tagnani chief who wanted to say that his people were already near and were bringing us manioc, maize, etc., in many baskets, having counted on all his fingers and toes, tapped the hands and feet of others present, repeating all the while, "Dêra, dêra, dêra" (this, this, this).

[805] To count the days, either past or future, which stand between them and a certain place, they raise their right hand to the face, rest their head on the palm, close their eyes, and produce a loud snore for every night to be counted.

822 The concepts of shape and area are also defined among them. The Cocozu call a circle irengçú, a triangle nendzu. Perhaps these words are merely names of animals or objects extended to cover these figures, which they trace accurately.

[Fig. 46]

821 They distinguish east and west. They indicate the approximate time of day by pointing out the place where the sun will stand on the horizon [260] at that particular hour. They do not seem to distinguish among constellations; they always gave the same name to any star we pointed out to them. The Tagnani indiscriminately named tangrê the Belt in the Orion constellation which they drew on the ground, as well as the largest stars in this exceptionally beautiful cluster (Rigel, Betelgeuse and Belatrix). The total eclipse of the sun which was clearly noticeable in the Serra do Norte on October 10, 1912, made no impression whatever on the Nambicuara.

000 As to the biological concepts they may perchance have gathered, we cannot yet speak about them. What we were able to ascertain did not satisfy us.

[Fig. 47]

197 The Indians of the Serra do Norte speak distinct but related dialects which are mutually intelligible.